

Message Text

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S/S - MR. LUERS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 065477

EXDIS - TOSEC 964

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: MARR, BA, US

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - MIDEASTFOR - REASSURANCES
REGARDING FORCE ROLE (S/S NO. 7505716)

REF.: MANAMA 312

FOR SISCO AND ATHERTON FROM SOBER

1. BACKGROUND

I AM FORWARDING TO YOU REFTEL WHICH RELAYS BAHRAINI REQUEST FOR AN EXPLICIT NEW ASSURANCE ON HOW MIDEASTFOR WOULD OPERATE UNDER OUR REVISED UNDERSTANDING WITH GOB. THIS IS AT LEAST THE THIRD TIME WE HAVE HAD A CRACK AT FINDING A FORMULATION WHICH WE CAN LIVE WITH AND WHICH MEETS GOB REQUIREMENTS. EACH TIME THE GOB HAS TENTATIVELY AGREED BUT THEN GONE AHEAD TO RAISE THE ANTE.

TO AVOID FURTHER EXCHANGES AND BRING THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO A QUICK AND POSITIVE END, IT WOULD BE SIMPLEST TO ACCEPT LATEST GOB PROPOSAL PER REFTEL. ONE COULD SAY IT DOES NOT

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REALLY MATTER WHAT WE SAY IF OUR INTENT IS GOOD, SINCE IN A

CRUNCH WE WOULD HAVE TO DO WHAT WE CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL IN ANY EVENT. BUT THERE HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIAL PAIN HERE OVER

THE LATEST BAHRAINI FORMULATION ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT GOES TOO FAR IN TYING OUR HANDS. AFTER SOME INTENSIVE EXCHANGES WITH DOD, PM, AND L, WE HAVE COME UP WITH A SLIGHT BUT IMPORTANT MODIFICATION OF THE BAHRAINI FORMULATION WHICH I THINK IS GOOD ENOUGH TO PUT TO THE GOB. THIS IS SPELLED OUT IN A MESSAGE WHICH I PROPOSE TO SEND TO TWINAM (ATTACHED).

2. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE THE PROPOSED TELEGRAM TO TWINAM.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

3. CLEARED: DOD-NOYES, L, PM-STERN, NEA

4. ATTACHMENT: PROPOSED MESSAGE TO AMBASSADOR TWINAM

BEGIN PROPOSED TEXT OF MESSAGE TO TWINAM

1. WE HAVE CAREFULLY REVIEWED FORMULATION GIVEN YOU BY GOB FOR ADDITIONAL SENTENCE TO THIRD PARAGRAPH OF LETTER WHICH YOU WOULD PRESENT TO GOB AS PART OF SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON MIDEASTFOR. IT REMAINS OUR PRIMARY DESIRE TO CONCLUDE THESE NEGOTIATIONS SUCCESSFULLY AS SOON AS WE CAN.

2. WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE ADDITIONAL SENTENCE REQUESTED BY GOB (PARA 1 REFTEL) COULD CAUSE US SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN LONGER TERM. BROAD PROVISIONS OF ASSURANCE AS REQUESTED BY GOB COULD BE INTERPRETED AS WAIVING CERTAIN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF POWERS SUCH AS POWER TO ORDER U.S. FORCES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND AS EXCEEDING PERMISSIBLE SCOPE FOR EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT. (ANY LETTER WE PROVIDE TO GOB WILL CONSTITUTE PART OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT AND WILL HAVE TO BE TRANSMITTED TO CONGRESS FOR ITS INFORMATION UNDER CASE ACT.) FROM PRACTICAL VIEWPOINT, IF SUCH ASSURANCE GIVEN BY US, IT COULD PROVIDE BASIS FOR GOB
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PRESSURES REGARDING PERMISSIBLE USES OF MIDEASTFOR COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES AND PERMISSIBLE ACTIVITIES OF ANY FORCES SUPPORTED BY MIDEASTFOR. THE GOB FORMULATION THUS EXCEEDS LIMITS TO WHICH WE ARE PREPARED TO AGREE.

3. WE HAVE SOUGHT FORMULATION WHICH WOULD BE AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO GOB PROPOSAL BUT NOT EXCEED LIMITS TO WHICH WE CAN AGREE. BELIEVE WE HAVE HIT UPON SUCH FORMULATION

WHICH SHOULD ALSO BE ACCEPTABLE TO GOB. IT WOULD MAKE REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE U.N. CHARTER AS BROADLY GOVERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF MIDEASTFOR. BY IMPLICATION THIS WOULD PRESERVE THE VARIOUS RIGHTS OF SELF-DEFENSE

PROVIDED IN THE CHARTER AND RETAIN THE NECESSARY MINIMUM FLEXIBILITY WHICH WE MUST HAVE REGARDING MIDEASTFOR OPERATIONS. AT SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE REFERENCE TO THE U.N. CHARTER COULD BE PRESENTED IN A WAY WHICH WOULD MAKE OUR REFORMULATION ACCEPTABLE TO GOB.

4. PROPOSED REFORMULATION INCLUDES REFERENCE TO U.N. CHARTER IN SECOND SENTENCE AND INSERTION OF THE WORD "CONTRARY" AT KEY POINT IN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE PROPOSED BY GOB IN THIRD PARAGRAPH OF PROPOSED LETTER. FULL TEXT OF LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD THUS READ AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE:

EXCELLENCY:

I WISH TO EXPRESS THE PLEASURE OF MY GOVERNMENT AT THE CONCLUSION OF DISCUSSIONS WHICH WE HAVE HAD WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE MIDDLE EAST FORCE. WE ARE PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE LED TO MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY UNDERSTANDINGS ON ALL POINTS.

IN A LETTER WRITTEN TO YOU ON DECEMBER 23, 1971, THE THEN U.S. CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, MR. GATCH, SAID THE FOLLOWING:
"I HAVE THE HONOR TO DEFINE THE ROLE OF THE COMMANDER OF THE MIDDLE EAST FORCE WHICH IS TO MANIFEST THE CONTINUING INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE GULF, AND TO VISIT
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FRIENDLY COUNTRIES THERE, IN THE RED SEA, AND THE INDIAN OCEAN AREAS. I HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED BY MY GOVERNMENT TO ASSURE YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT NO CHANGE IS CONTEMPLATED IN THE ROLE OF THE COMMANDER OF THE MIDDLE EAST FORCE AND FURTHER THAT NO CHANGE WILL BE MADE WITHOUT NOTIFYING THE GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN."

I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT THE FOREGOING ASSURANCES REMAIN IN EFFECT. IT REMAINS THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER; TO HAVE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL THE STATES OF THE GULF AREA BASED ON MUTUAL COOPERATION; AND TO SUPPORT THE POLICY OF THE STATES IN THIS REGION TO STRENGTHEN THEIR INDEPENDENCE THROUGH REGIONAL COOPERATION. CONSEQUENTLY, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE

FACILITIES EXTENDED BY THE BAHRAIN GOVERNMENT TO THE UNITED STATES MIDDLE EAST FORCE WILL NOT BE UTILIZED IN ANY CONTRARY MANNER TO ASSIST OR SUPPORT DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY ANY MILITARY ACTION OR OPERATION AGAINST NEIGHBORING STATES IN THE GULF AREA.

I WISH TO EXPRESS THE APPRECIATION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR THE HOSPITALITY BAHRAIN HAS SHOWN SINCE THE LATE 1940'S TO THE SHIPS AND MEN OF THE MIDDLE EAST FORCE. THE UNITED STATES LOOKS TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF OUR TRADITIONALLY FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH BAHRAIN IN ALL FIELDS. UNQUOTE. (COMPLIMENTARY CLOSE).

5. IN PRESENTING ABOVE PROPOSAL TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, YOU SHOULD EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR GOB'S HELPFUL INTENT TO BRING OUR NEGOTIATIONS TO PROMPT AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. WE FULLY APPRECIATE GOB'S NEED "TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS" AND WE WISH TO ACCOMMODATE TO THIS NEED THROUGH EXPLICIT ASSURANCES OF OUR DESIRE FOR HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP NOT ONLY WITH GOB BUT WITH OTHER STATES IN THE REGION. IN THIS REGARD, HAVING IN MIND THE SUGGESTION MOST RECENTLY MADE BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF U.N. CHARTER AS GUIDING US WITH REGARD TO ACTIVITIES OF MIDEASTFOR. WE THINK REFERENCE TO U.N.

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CHARTER SHOULD BE HELPFUL TO GOB IN EXPLAINING TO ITS OWN PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENT AND TO NEIGHBORING STATES ITS AGREEMENT WITH USG ON CERTAIN NEW TERMS ON MIDEASTFOR PRESENCE. YOU SHOULD ADD WE HOPE THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN NOW BE COMPLETED PROMPTLY BY YOUR DELIVERY OF LETTER AS PROPOSED ABOVE AND BY SOME SUITABLE WRITTEN ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

6. YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO DELIVER ABOVE LETTER IF GOB AGREES TO OUR PROPOSAL. REPORT PROMPTLY IF YOU PERCEIVE PROBLEMS MAKING APPROACH TO GOB ALONG ABOVE LINES.

END PROPOSED TEXT. INGERSOLL

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